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THE *Nation*

July 15, 1950

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

DISPATCHES FROM THE FRONT DURING THE second week of the war in Korea were almost uniformly discouraging. The South Koreans seemed unable to rally after their initial numbing defeats. The small American units hastily thrown in to stop the Communist drive had been repeatedly overrun; casualties in some outfits were running as high as 10 per cent. Obviously, reinforcements on a large scale were needed, and early this week a full-fledged expedition was being assembled on the West Coast. In blunt terms, our situation in Korea—at least for the immediate future—was desperate. Nevertheless, there were still no serious doubts that the United Nations forces commanded by General MacArthur would prevail—unless one of several developments occurred. The hint that international brigades might be recruited among Russia's satellites gave rise to nightmares of a new Spanish war—long, laborious, uncertain as to outcome. Chiang Kai-shek's offers to help had thus far been ignored, but if further reverses brought a change of heart, Mao Tse-tung's armies would surely march. Finally, there was the threat, as yet remote, that Russia might join in and turn the localized action into World War III. With these possibilities in mind, Washington was using every energy to make Korea a "quick" war (see page 53). So the President, under a war-time power, seized the strike-bound Rock Island Railroad (strikes against four other parallel lines had been called off previously at his request) and by injunction forced the return to work of the switchmen, who bitterly protested this act as an invasion of their legal right to strike. It was thought that Mr. Truman's move might head off an impending walk-out by other railway unions whose effect would be to delay arms shipments. On Capitol Hill, however, the Senate refused a Defense Department plea for "blank check" power to finance the Korea fighting, but promised quick action on every specific request for funds. This is but one of a number of decisions that may have to be reconsidered if the news from the Far East continues to be bad.

✶

UNLIKE THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES IN Florida and North Carolina, Oklahoma's Senatorial contest was far from a clear-cut affair. Elmer Thomas, the incumbent, is a muddled old professional whose statesmanship was revealed in Europe last summer. Supposedly investigating expenditures under the arms-aid program, he visited Sweden, which was not included in the program, and announced that he had been so slighted by the Stockholm government that any further help for the Swedes would be over his protest. The Senator, moreover, has never made much of a defense against the charge that he used confidential government information to speculate profitably on the Commodity Exchange. On the other hand, he is as close to being a champion of the Brannan plan as there is in the Senate. He has voted with labor consistently enough to enjoy the support of the American Federation of Labor, and he has been generally good on civil-rights legislation, even to the point of voting to shut off Southern filibusters. His opponent, Representative A. S. Mike Monroney, who won the preliminary contest without getting the necessary majority, is Thomas's intellectual superior. A young Congressman of considerable stature, he played a major part in the reorganization of the legislative branch. He has been good on questions of public electric power and has none of Thomas's provincialism in international affairs. Yet he earned the enmity of the C. I. O. by voting for the Taft-Hartley act and is generally considered amenable to the wishes of the oil lobby. Well-founded or not, the feeling among Oklahoma liberals is that if he wins the run-off, the Senate will have another Lyndon Johnson, the bright young Texan who had the pre-election blessing of the Administration only to turn around, once he was in the Senate, and vote against it on every major issue.

✶

IF IT REQUIRES A CERTAIN KIND OF TALENT to do exactly the wrong thing at the worst possible moment, the majority of the Senate Appropriations Committee should be recognized as men of genius. On the day last week that American infantrymen were standing off their first North Korean tank attack, the committee voted to cut the incipient Point Four program to a trifling $10,000,000—less than one-fourth of what President Truman originally asked for, one-third of what the Senate had previously authorized. If the slash goes through Congress this week, it will virtually eliminate an American Point Four program for the time being, for we have tentatively committed ourselves to contribute to similar United Nations projects $10,000,000 from our own appropriation. The Senators who

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
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Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
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Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maxwell S. Stewart, J. King Gordon, Ralph Bates, Andrew Roth

Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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voted for the reduction—including Democrats McCarran, Ellender, Russell, and McKellar—have joined an ugly roster of those who, wittingly or unwittingly, give aid and comfort to the enemy. Only a small part of any struggle to save the world from totalitarianism can be won on a battleground; the larger part must be fought in fields, factories, laboratories, classrooms, and mens' minds. We may recapture a thousand Seouls, but if we cannot prove to their inhabitants that we are sincerely interested in their future, we shall lose everything. One of the most substantial proofs of such interest would be a live, working, vigorous Point Four program to build up undeveloped regions—even the relatively modest pilot program now contemplated by Mr. Truman. If the Senate as a whole does not wish to follow the Appropriations Committee into suicidal, "economy-minded" idiocy, it will put Point Four back in business.

*

IN ADDITION TO SLASHING POINT FOUR funds the Senate Appropriations Committee approved the "Rooney rider" granting the Commerce Department discretionary power to fire any employee, regardless of civil-service provisions and President Truman's loyalty program. The rider is technically illegal, since substantive legislation is not supposed to be carried in appropriations bills, but Congress can of course override its own rules by majority vote. The blame rests chiefly on Secretary of Commerce Sawyer himself, who indicated that he wanted this power, which has previously been confined to the State and Defense departments and has been sparingly used even by the State Department. Mr. Sawyer is one of the last persons to be intrusted with such power: in trying to fire William Remington and Michael Lee he showed that he would rather discharge presumptively innocent victims of malice and gossip than abide by the rulings of the President's Loyalty Board. Add Mr. Sawyer's activities on the Rooney rider to his manifest lack of enthusiasm for the general ideas of Mr. Truman's Fair Deal, and the conclusion seems obvious that the President should start shopping for a new Secretary of Commerce.

*

THE REPUBLICAN ATTACK IN THE SENATE ON Sumner Pike of the Atomic Energy Commission was a particularly shoddy example of partisan politics. Senator Hickenlooper, after getting a solid Republican vote in committee against Mr. Pike's confirmation for a new term on the AEC, charged vaguely that Pike had opposed building the hydrogen bomb. This was a half-truth intended to mask the Senator's animosity toward Pike arising from Pike's refusal last year to help Hickenlooper prove charges of "incredible mismanagement" against the AEC. Moreover, although Pike is a Republican, he is thought by some to be too "liberal." The

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engeful spirit of Hickenlooper, whose pride was ounded by the collapse of his charges and the ridicule ıey earned, thus became dominant in the Republican enate Policy Committee, and the atomic-energy program as again made a political football. Mr. Pike is a "lib-ral" in exactly the sense that such other New England epublicans as Senators Aiken and Tobey are liberals; e is forward-looking, independent in judgment, and ctuated by a sense of genuine dedication to public ser-ice. In the AEC, as in earlier government posts, he has emonstrated his ability and integrity, and the attack pon him drew protests from his fellow-commissioners. When the Senate on Monday overrode Hickenlooper nd confirmed Mr. Pike, the vote was a triumph for ound legislative concepts as well as for the Commis-ioner himself.

*

THE ACTING COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION of New York has not unexpectedly rejected *The Nation's* appeal for a reversal of the ban placed upon it by local public-school authorities. We do not wish to subject our readers to a review of the tedious catalogue of error which has gained a page through this latest decision. Therefore we simply reaffirm our intention to carry our case to the courts. Actions which have been pending in the Supreme Courts of Albany and Kings County will now be pressed, and a third suit will be brought testing the continuance of the edict into its third year.

Rebels in the G. O. P.

THE Republican Party has given birth to a strange and unpredictable offspring, baptized at Philadelphia last week as "The Republican Advance." Crushed by repeated defeats since 1928, the G. O. P. has long been torn between two contradictory hopes of salvation. The Wherrys, McCormicks, and Gabrielsons of the party have fiercely preached a tory fundamentalism, believing that, given a clear choice, the voters will take Calvin Coolidge in preference to Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Willkies, Morses, and Aikens have been equally insistent that the party can come back only by riding the liberal tide which it has tried so long and so unsuccessfully to resist. The Republican Advance is the first formal organization of those upholding the second view.

The 5,000-word statement of principles of the new group is said to be largely the work of Russell Davenport, one of Willkie's chief advisers in 1940. There is much in it that is praiseworthy in a theoretical way, and its general effect could be to give the Republican Party the prestige of a responsible and enlightened conservatism, which it lacks at present.

The party, the declaration says, "has always set the welfare of the people as its paramount aim," and therefore the social goals of the New Deal and Fair Deal are "wholly consonant with traditional Republican aims." But it rejects the pursuit of those goals by "limitless expansion of governmental power," preferring the "mutual, voluntary efforts of men and women, encouraged and assisted by their government." The group scores the ineffectiveness of the Democrats on civil rights and demands as a minimum program an anti-lynching law, an anti-poll-tax law, and a fair-employment-practices act. It advocates cloture in the Senate where "basic rights are at stake" and denounces alliances with the Dixiecrats as Republican "betrayal."

The social-security program is accepted in full, with such insurances geared to the level of national productivity. But the dollar must be kept sound and the budget kept balanced except when national defense makes it impossible, in which case "it becomes the absolute duty of the Party in power not to expand social services otherwise desirable." Collective bargaining must be protected, and while abuses have to be corrected, the group rejects "a punitive attitude." The Republican party is to "carry on its own internationalist tradition," insisting on "worldwide policies to meet worldwide dangers." And in the Far East we must assure the people of Asia that we will not interfere "in a dominating or possessive manner," but will, on the other hand, "help them defend their freedom."

We do not hold it against the Republican Advance that its language is sometimes vague and its intentions a little cloudy. Its usefulness, after all, lies in remaining within the party—and there are limits. Mr. Gabrielson's National Committee has already served notice that it will ignore the Philadelphia declaration and asks Republicans to concentrate instead on the alleged blunders of the Administration in the Far East.

Yet we cannot help wondering about the queer mixture to be found in the first roster of the group's supporters. Among the twenty-one Representatives who have rallied to the Advance we find, for example, such unexpected names as Richard M. Nixon, Hugh D. Scott, Jr., and John Davis Lodge. A group that puts civil rights at the core of its program would seem like a dubious home for the co-author of the Mundt-Nixon bill. Lodge's view of the Fair Deal, whose social goals the group accepts, is that it is an "outrageous fraud" which "consists of depriving the people of their security through taxes . . . while offering to them the meager prospect of being uneasy wards of the state." And Scott is the man Dewey made party chairman in 1948 in exchange for the support of the infamous Grundy machine of Pennsylvania. He voted against rent controls, public housing, the broadening of social security, and increasing the minimum wage, among other social goals of the Fair Deal.

Faced with hard election fights against such tried liberals as Helen Douglas and Chester Bowles, respec-

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tively, it is not unreasonable to suspect that Nixon and Lodge are less attracted by the declared principles of the Republican Advance than by the liberal votes it may enable them to pick up. The same is true of a number of other Congressmen on the list whose voting records are emphatically on the right. Anti-Dewey as well as anti-Taft sentiment was noticeable at Philadelphia, but the presence of Scott in the line-up, plus the intensive activity of Senator Ives, has left some observers wondering whether the New York governor is not thinking of the group as the "wave of the future"—with Eisenhower its candidate in '52 and Dewey in '56.

It is perhaps a great deal to hope that out of this mixture of individuals seeking votes for themselves, leaders thinking in terms of saving the party, and men who sincerely believe that we can have more social security than we have with less centralized control—there can emerge a coherent political party. But American parties are rarely coherent, and it is good to have a significant sector of the G. O. P. admit at last that social welfare is a legitimate function of government.

War Economy Again?

THE small speculators who sent the stock market tumbling when the Korean crisis aroused fears of a major war were acting with characteristic unreason. The big boys who held back, and brought a quick recovery of stock prices, knew better. War, according to all experience, means inflation, not collapse.

Shrewder calculations moved those who decided to lay by new tires, since imports of rubber from Southeast Asia might be cut off, and hastened to buy new cars, since automobile factories might be requisitioned to make tanks. But these pre-war hoarders were betting on what seems to be a dim possibility. Only a major war would require the restrictive measures of recent memory. Shortages are not inevitable and rationing not needed while the supplies for military action in Korea can be taken out of stock. Even a long Korean campaign could not make much dent in a budget hardened to handing out arms to Nationalist China, Greece, and Turkey and beginning to equip half a dozen European nations. Have we forgotten all the tanks, planes, and warships neatly done up in plastic covers?

If, as now appears probable, no world-wide hostilities are in prospect, the inflationary danger will come from within the American economy, not from without. This nation produces approximately half the industrial goods turned out in the whole world, though it contains not more than one-twelfth of the world's population. Hardly more than 5 or 6 per cent of our output is exported to other countries even now, and the excess of exports over imports—which is what counts in increasing the aggregate demand—is not more than 2 or 3 per cent of the national income. Other people have had the benefit of as large a part of our product for most of the past seventy-five years. Formerly they earned it by returns on their dollar investments, whereas now we are giving it to them, but the effect on our markets is the same. Exporting a somewhat greater quantity of military supplies and even a few soldiers to a corner of Asia is not going to make much economic difference.

When the Korean crisis struck, United States production was approximating the all-time high of 1948, and employment had risen to 61,000,000. Domestic demand, plus the existing military budget, was beginning to push prices up again. The big problem is to limit domestic demand when output nears top capacity.

Three main factors can now intensify the upward price tendency. One is an anticipation of shortages and higher prices not only by individual consumers but by business concerns; this may lead them to buy materials for stock not immediately needed. Another is the budgetary deficit, which means that more money is being paid out to the public by government than is being taken in taxes or other compulsory contributions, with the result that the public's purchasing power is unnecessarily increased. The third is the growth of bank credit for both consumers and business, at a time when such credit will increase the funds available for purchases more rapidly than it can increase production.

All these factors can be held in check. Buyers of commodities would not speculate on higher prices if they could be convinced that higher prices were not in prospect. Appropriate governmental and banking action would go far to convince them. The government can cease its stimulation of higher prices by raising taxes sufficiently to eliminate the deficit—for the past fiscal year only about $3,150,000,000 in a $260,000,000,000 economy. We can have as big armaments as seem desirable without a budgetary deficit if we will only tax ourselves enough to pay for it; otherwise we are sure to pay for it through higher prices. Finally, the Federal Reserve System can limit over-extension of bank credit by increased use of the powers it already possesses.

In the background, of course, must be an economic-mobilization measure ready to be applied instantly if total war should loom. Such a measure must include general powers of price control and rationing, as well as effective excess-profits taxation. Knowledge that these powers existed and would be used if needed would take the wind out of speculative sails.

We cannot fight a war without paying for it while we fight it. But we can fight one—especially a relatively modest police action—without inflation if we adopt the necessary preventives in time. Any seriously uncomfortable effects of the Korean action on the American consumer will be the fault not so much of the aggressors as of ourselves.

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Two Wars in the Capital

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, July 7

TWO Korean wars have been waged here this week—one by the Pentagon, which is frankly nervous about the adequacy of our fighting forces to do the job assigned to them; the other by the State Department, which must concern itself with world opinion. The differences in emphasis between the Defense and State departments were reflected in the resolution presented to the United Nations Security Council today.

As passed by the Security Council, the resolution was designed to draw "the mantle of the U. N." more firmly around Anglo-American action in Korea, but it involved the U. N. in the conduct of the war less than had the original proposal of the Canadians, made a week ago. The first draft resolution, as offered by the Canadians to Assistant Secretary of State Hickerson, included a proposal for a U. N. war council or war committee under which General MacArthur would direct the fighting. Nobody in the Pentagon thought the time was ripe for any kind of war council which might interfere with strategic or tactical decisions at a time when only American and British Commonwealth power was engaged and when the military situation was precarious. Nobody in the Pentagon thought that MacArthur would welcome such a council. There was considerable doubt in the State Department itself about how a U. N. war-directing council could be formed if the Soviet Union or a satellite state insisted on membership.

The resolution, therefore, advanced the Security Council's position only to the extent of specifically authorizing the United States to appoint a United Nations commander, granting permission to national units to fly the U. N. flag in addition to their native flags, and calling for periodic reports from the United States on the progress of operations. But a U. N. war council will doubtless be urged again, and more insistently, if the Korean fighting continues. The Security Council and the smaller nations in the General Assembly will want to be officially informed, and preferably in advance, of American decisions on such matters as the blockade of the Korean coast.

In the Pentagon the immediate anxiety is how to get troops and weapons to Korea in sufficient strength to check what has proved to be an extremely powerful and well-organized offensive. After repeatedly rejecting any suggestion of even partial mobilization, President Truman today ordered an increase of at least 300,000 in the armed services and authorized the drafting of men for service. It is certain that reserves will be called up at least on a "voluntary" basis, and it is probable that as many as half a million men will be blanketed into service as quickly as possible. Defense officials consider this the minimum necessary to back up our stroke in Korea and to meet the risk that the Russians, after we are deeply committed in the Far East, may unleash attacks in other areas. Pentagon "briefing" officers talked this week of sending as many as six divisions to Korea, which is two more than we had in Japan when fighting broke out and more than we could conceivably manage at once without stripping defenses elsewhere.

So a sense of war urgency was felt in the capital for the first time. The President coupled with his draft action a request to Congress for a new $260,000,000 appropriation for the Atomic Energy Commission. There is as yet no directive to industrial firms to fill stand-by war orders locked in their safes, but MacArthur is demanding more men and guns. If we should be forced to place an army of six divisions in Korea, with all their tanks, transport, food, and ammunition, the problem of supply would be formidable.

One issue which might conceivably have divided the Defense and State departments has apparently caused no trouble: nowhere is there any inclination to accept Chiang Kai-shek's offer of 33,000 Nationalist troops for the Korean fighting. No one knows how these troops would fight, and no one wants to give direct provocation to the Chinese Communists by bringing Nationalist forces back to the mainland. The Chinese Communist armies, according to reliable reports, include 100,000 battle-tested Koreans who could be shifted back across the Korean border if Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists were allowed to intervene. Our idea is still to limit the war to a specific police action in Korea—not to invite expansion of the conflict.

What the American and British Commonwealth forces may most urgently need before the Korean campaign is finished is the participation of Indian, Pakistani, and perhaps Indonesian units committed by their governments to the service of the United Nations. As key officials in the Department of State are well aware, an answer to the ferocious Communist propaganda drive that pictures the war as an American imperialist adventure is as vital to U. N. integrity as was the original decision to resist the North Korean attack with arms. The free peoples of Asia could give the most decisive answer. But neither they nor their governments can be pushed; Pandit Nehru bitterly resented published stories

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in the United States that India had been "pressured" into approval of the Security Council resolution of June 27, and the State Department today felt compelled to repudiate the stories. India's approval of the resolution, its moral consent to American actions, was a major change from Nehru's previous policy of neutrality as between Russia and the United States, and powerfully reinforced the U. N. declaration that the North Korean assault was aggression which could not be tolerated. Even token forces from the free Asiatic countries, fighting in Korea under the U. N. flag, would blunt the Communist propaganda offensive about our purposes; but time must be given for public opinion in Asia to reach its own conclusions.

ON CAPITOL HILL this week the politicians have seized upon the new war crisis to ride their special hobbies with renewed vigor. Senator Donnell filled the *Congressional Record* with statements supporting his bill to outlaw railroad strikes. Senator Mundt argued that the Korean war imperatively demanded enactment of his Communist-control bill, without making it clear why a conflict on the edge of Manchuria required the American Congress to adopt repressive legislation inimical to the free institutions we advocate. Senator McCarthy ranted again against Secretary Acheson as an appeaser of Russia, although Acheson was the Cabinet member who wanted action in Korea when the Joint Chiefs of Staff hesitated. Senator George of Georgia, conservative chairman of the powerful Senate Finance Committee, foresaw great difficulties if the Administration should insist on taking up such "controversial" matters as readjustment of tax rates to decrease the special privileges granted operators of oil wells. All of this brings back memories of Congress in action during World War II—individual Congressmen utilizing the national emergency to justify precisely the stands they had taken before the emergency arose. Perhaps there will be a change as more bad news comes in from the Korean front.

Europe Holds Its Breath

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, July 6

WHEN people in Europe learned of President Truman's announcement that he had ordered the armed forces of the United States to defend South Korea, the universal response was: Is this the world war? As I write, the overwhelming majority believe it is not. Of course judgment must be reserved for a few weeks. Meanwhile informed persons are worrying more about what China may do than about Russia's reaction. Diplomats familiar with the present situation in the Far East tell me that China takes a greater interest than Russia in the Korean affair. They compare the attitude of the two countries to that of France and England toward Spain as Franco began his rebellion with the aid of Germany and Italy. For a moment—at the end of July, 1936—France was inclined to go to the aid of the Spanish Republic, while England remained detached.

Peking's subordination to Moscow is not taken quite so much for granted here as in the United States. It is true that immediately after Chiang Kai-shek's collapse American commentators speculated on the possibility of a Titoist China, but now they are generally agreed that Mao is a puppet taking his orders from Stalin. On this side of the Atlantic some very intelligent observers believe that China's policy toward Korea is decided in Peking and that Peking is much more belligerent than Moscow. In the next few days European statesmen will watch the Chinese Communists very closely. Their great fear is that the situation in Formosa might take a turn which would cause Mao to intervene in Korea, thus seriously enhancing the danger of an extension of the war. For that reason they were relieved to hear that the United States does not intend to use Chinese Nationalist troops.

The West's relations with Communist China have a direct bearing on the whole affair. At this late date the question may seem purely academic, but I have heard more than one authority on international affairs say that if the Chinese Communists had been granted a seat on the U. N. Security Council, as the British strongly advocated, war in Korea would have been avoided. French critics of the Quai d'Orsay's policy—I do not refer to Communist attacks—reproach the French government for not having joined with the British and thus broken the deadlock in the Security Council. France, they say, sacrificed the general interest, which required Communist China's representation in the United Nations, to its special interest in Indo-China and its desire to obtain American aid in keeping Bao Dai in power. All this is an old story, but it is worth recalling, since a compromise on the issue of representation at some later time might lead to a general settlement in the Far East.

One thing which the Korean war has done is point up some of the current misconceptions about the cold war. The British historian Arnold Toynbee and many other commentators on the world situation have as-

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serted that the cold war could go on for years without developing into a real war. I have been of a different opinion and have written time and again that in present circumstances historical parallels were misleading and that a war could remain cold only for a limited period —to wage a cold war was to be looking for a real war. Events are proving who was right.

EQUALLY false and dangerous is the assumption that European public opinion, except for the Communists, is solidly behind American action in Korea. Official approval and the support of the major part of the press and of most political parties and groups do not mean unqualified agreement. The real sentiments of certain non-Communist groups were revealed in the first forty-eight hours after hostilities broke out, before President Truman had stated that the United States was definitely committed to the defense of South Korea. Take, for instance, an editorial in *Le Monde* of June 26. It was not signed, but its acuteness and subtlety pointed to the paper's editor, M. Beur-May. In substance it advised Frenchmen not to be drawn into defending a weak and corrupt regime, incapable of recognizing the profound changes taking place in Asia, and not to forget that some conflicts, notably those in which the parties are inspired by nationalist ideals or revolutionary passions, cannot be settled by opposing force to force. In short, the editorial advocated recourse to diplomacy.

After a day or two *Le Monde*, like most of the French press except the Communist papers, fervently supported the action of the United Nations. Evidently the Quai d'Orsay had dropped a hint to the editors. Some comments still revealed the anxiety of the non-Communist left that reactionary elements might profit from the war in Korea and the new international situation. Two anti-Communist dailies, *Combat* and *Franc-Tireur*, dealt with this aspect of the question. In *Combat* on June 28 Marcel Gimont, in an article with the sarcastic title Fighting for the Right, said: "If the purpose of the war being waged by the United States is to stop the advance of communism in Asia by maintaining in power men like Chiang Kai-shek or Bao Dai and their corrupt and discredited governments, we say that it is not our war." In *Franc-Tireur* of June 29 Jean Rous, a Socialist journalist of more independence than judgment, wrote: "Present-day wars require not only a military but a political and social strategy. Where is this political and social strategy? We are for democracy in Asia; we are not for communism in Asia. But if democracy is represented by Bao Dai in Indo-China, we do not want it."

To *L'Observateur*, the leftist, non-Communist weekly edited by Claude Bourdet, the danger is that the United Nations now appears to be an instrument of one of the two blocs, having come "openly under American domination." The press that reflects the opinion not only of the Socialist Party of France but of the Socialist parties of the other Western European nations gives more decided support to the action taken by the United States and the United Nations than do independent liberal papers like *L'Observateur* and *Combat*. I have received the same impression in personal talks with individual representatives of the different groups. This is a natural reflection of the bitter feud that has grown up between the Socialists and the Communists in recent years as the result of the Socialist campaign against Russia.

The rightist press and conservative opinion are of course overwhelmingly for the United States and against the Soviet Union; Russia is called the real promoter of the Korean war. Yet rightists express grave doubts about the wisdom of America's "letting itself be maneuvered by the Russians into an untenable position" or "allowing itself to be bled white in Korea," two favorite expressions. These worries find expression in a series of articles entitled Lessons from Korea, by Raymond Aron, the principal columnist of the conservative *Figaro*. "The [Soviet] purpose," says M. Aron, "is clearly to commit American troops to a difficult and distant battlefield, but the United States cannot establish garrisons in every critical spot on the earth." An editorial in yesterday's *Monde* showed concern over the risks involved in the "Atlantic system of defense, which, indeed, was never very strong and now becomes weaker and more precarious." A section of rightist opinion is asking itself, "Was Korea worth while?" and some papers, like the Swiss *Gazette de Lausanne*, recall that Owen Lattimore advised the State Department to abandon South Korea, whose government seemed to him unworthy of support.

L'Aurore has been convinced by Foreign Minister Gromyko's note that the Kremlin's mood is not likely to lead to direct intervention, but this rightist newspaper is apprehensive about certain diplomatic moves open to the Soviet Union, especially an attempt to force a discussion of the whole affair at Lake Success by asking the General Assembly to meet in the next few weeks instead of in September.

The non-Communist European left is greatly depressed. The one hope of the more intelligent among them who are not swayed by anti-Russian feeling is that Russia will not intervene in Korea, that Stalin will support the moderate elements around Mao Tse-tung, that the war will be localized, and that some day an international readjustment will be brought about which will assure democracy and peace. At the moment of writing I feel convinced by everything I have heard here that Russia will not enter the conflict but will try in every possible way to benefit from its position, using propaganda for the time being and eventually diplomatic action.

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"Here We Go Again"

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

London, July 3

THE first news of the fighting in Korea hit Britons hard. "Here we go again," was the kind of phrase one heard on all sides, and the younger veterans of the last war began to speculate on how soon they would be called back into uniform. "Well, this time at least," I heard some say, "it won't be a matter of the Yanks waiting for a year or two while we fight; they'll be in on the ground floor." But after the first shock President Truman's decision to face the challenge squarely and immediately received a much more cordial reception than might have been expected. In fact, there has been little criticism of it from any group except of course the Communist Party and its most devoted fellow-travelers. Labor, Liberal, and Conservative spokesmen have agreed that whatever the risks of resisting aggression on this occasion, those of appeasing or ignoring it are infinitely greater.

Editorial opinion expressed in the most diverse publications has also backed the policy of resisting aggression now. "The United States government," wrote the left-wing *Tribune* in its issue of June 30, "has in our view taken the correct and inevitable course." The *New Statesman and Nation*, which is sometimes accused of a hypercritical attitude toward America, pointed out on July 1 that the action of the North Korean forces could not be condoned even though Syngman Rhee's regime was corrupt and the revolutionary process visible throughout Asia would probably under any circumstances engulf the whole of Korea. "These things are true," it went on, "but they do not get rid of the fact that an act of aggression has been committed, and that one of the quickest ways to war . . . is unchecked acts of aggression leading to the humiliated state of mind of Munich, and, sooner or later, to that of 1939."

On the other hand, some doubts are being expressed about the wisdom of Mr. Truman's offer to defend Formosa, a unilateral action for which indorsement by the United Nations cannot be asked. The view that nothing is to be gained and much to be lost by refusing to recognize the popular basis of the Chinese Communist victory is widely held here. This victory, it is believed, will not be reversed by outside intervention, which seems more likely to strengthen Russian influence in China and perhaps postpone indefinitely the rebellion of the Chinese against Soviet tutelage.

Korea is a different matter, and no one doubts that Russia must be held responsible for the action of its Korean satellite. However, the question of how directly it is responsible is regarded as interesting and important. One friend of mine, a keen and informed student of Soviet strategy, expressed surprise that the invasion had not been preceded by an uprising of some kind in South Korea. Use of such a rising as an excuse for intervention would have accorded with the classic tenets of Soviet policy, and its absence suggested to him that the invasion had not been planned in Moscow. Whether or not this is so, it has been generally noted that the Soviet government has so far not given its formal blessing to the North Korean government; this inspires the hope that it will decide against providing direct assistance if and when the Western forces begin to prevail.

As the *Economist* put it, "The most charitable and optimistic view would be that Moscow's fault lies not so much in any actual encouragement of aggression as in a failure to restrain it. . . . At the other extreme is the awful specter . . . that the Soviet leaders have made up their minds to have war, knowing that it would be total and worldwide. . . . The probability is that the course of events will lie between these two extremes."

July 6

YESTERDAY'S debate in the Commons developed practically unanimous support for the government's action in sending military aid to South Korea. Attlee's opening speech was a model of its kind. It was lucid, factual, forthright, and yet restrained. The Premier made short work of the Communist argument that South Korea was the real aggressor, pointing out that it was not armed for offensive action whereas North Korea was. He also riddled the suggestion that the Security Council acted illegally, declaring that the United Nations Charter did not permit a permanent member of the Council to impose blanket veto by deliberate absence from sessions. "If the U. N. is not to go the way of the League of Nations," he ended, "its members must be prepared to act when need arises, and if the people wish to avoid another war they must support their governments in asserting rule by law."

There was nothing in this to which Churchill could take exception; in fact, he specifically approved the steps taken by the government while reserving the right to criticize military preparations, asserting that never in memory had the public and Parliament been "so ignorant of conditions which exist" in regard to the defense forces. However, the leader of the opposition apparently felt that it would be unbecoming for him to seem simply to echo Attlee, and spent a considerable

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part of his time attacking Tom Driberg and R. H. S. Crossman, two labor back-benchers whose comments on the crisis had displeased him. He then went on to scold War Secretary John Strachey for a speech he had made about the Schuman Plan. This intrusion of party politics naturally irritated the Laborites and detracted somewhat from the dignity of the occasion.

But although Churchill thus tended to strengthen the feeling of many Labor members that some Tories were inclined to welcome the crisis for its own sake, on the main issue—the absolute necessity of resisting aggression—there was almost no dissension. One veteran pacifist-Christian-Socialist moved and another seconded an amendment calling for the withdrawal of all British forces from Korea, but it found no other supporters and was therefore rejected without a vote.

Case History of a Stall

BY KENNETH FIESTER

MANY liberal commentators have discussed the C. I. O.'s failure to organize the Southern textile workers. But all of them have missed or too lightly stressed the most important reason for this failure—the union's inability to turn an election victory into a signed contract.

Inability to negotiate an agreement after an election victory has more serious consequences for a union than the number of dues-payers thus lost. It is one of the most effective arguments that can be used against the union in subsequent organizing efforts in the area—just as a sound contract is a compelling argument in the union's behalf. In each case the impact is cumulative: a contract after an election victory produces more victories and more contracts.

For the workers directly involved the failure to negotiate an agreement is devastating. In these times a union organizing campaign is an intense emotional struggle, of which the National Labor Relations Board election is the climax. If the union loses, a cadre still remains to carry on the fight, and the employer, as often as not, supplies ammunition for it. If the union wins, the exhausted victors prepare to enter paradise. Instead, they meet the company lawyer.

The technique of contract avoidance as developed by management lawyers in the South is a fantastic performance which would be funny if its effects were not so deadly. The tactics used follow the same general pattern and can be best exposed by the history of a specific case. Let us take that of the Sherman Manufacturing Company in Sherman, Texas.

The Textile Workers Union of America, C. I. O., won a Labor Board election at the Sherman mill on May 3, 1949. The vote was 184 to 89. The union was duly certified as collective-bargaining agent on May 11. The first conference with the company was held on May 30. The protagonists in the struggle throughout its course were Wayne Dernoncourt, T. W. U. A. state director, and Joe Keith, the management attorney.

Keith said that he and Dan Poole, Jr., mill superintendent, were empowered to negotiate and sign a binding agreement. He also explained that as he was a busy man, he could meet for only two hours at a time, at intervals of one or two weeks. Dernoncourt presented a draft contract as a basis for discussion. Keith said he would have to study it. The following abbreviated chronology tells the rest of the story.

JULY 16, 1949. This was the earliest date for a meeting the union could wring from Keith. Keith presented a written counter-proposal. Dernoncourt barely had time to point out that it made no reference to wages, vacations, or arbitration of disputes when Keith broke off the meeting. He suggested July 23 as the next date.

July 23. Dernoncourt informed Keith that the workers had unanimously rejected his proposal. R. R. Lawrence, a T. W. U. A. vice-president, also attended this session. He said the union was willing to meet night and day to hasten agreement. Keith said he could not meet more often.

August 10. Keith proposed a clause covering grievance procedure. The union accepted it. Keith said he had not had time to prepare any other clauses and that he was about to go on vacation and would notify the union when he could meet with it again.

September 2. The union presented a modified contract. Keith finally seemed ready to bargain. Tentative agreement was reached on clauses covering the scope of the contract, recognition of the union, the use of bulletin boards by the union, and the like. Again Keith insisted on adjourning after two hours but agreed to meet again in a week.

September 8. Keith called off the meeting scheduled for the next day.

September 17. Seniority was discussed, with no decision reached.

September 23. Keith announced that a company vice-

KENNETH FIESTER is editor of Textile Labor, *published by the Textile Workers Union of America.*

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president who had been sitting in was unable to appear because the company president was ill; therefore the meeting should adjourn. Dernoncourt asked if the president had to make the final decision. Contradicting his statement of May 30, Keith said yes.

For the next sixty days the union tried in vain to arrange another conference. In response to a formal, written demand, Keith said no further meetings could be held until after the first of the year.

January 14, 1950. Keith said he would like to go over the union's last proposal. Dernoncourt asked if Keith was now empowered to sign a contract. The lawyer said he had "power to negotiate." He then said he would prepare a new counter-proposal.

January 25. After reading a statement from the company president to the effect that any agreement reached by his representatives would be binding, Keith revealed the company's offer, which did not contain any of the clauses tentatively agreed to in August and September. In fact, with the exception of a section on arbitration it was identical with the proposal made by the company in the beginning.

January 26. The union offered another modified contract and urged intensive negotiations. Keith said he would have to study the union demands.

February 2. Keith said he had not had time to prepare a new offer. He complained that the union proposal was too long and complicated. Dernoncourt offered to explain it; Keith said no explanation was necessary. After this session the union asked the United States Conciliation Service to step in.

February 16. Keith announced that in view of the union's request for the aid of the Conciliation Service no meeting could be held.

March 10. The company finally agreed to meet under the auspices of the conciliators. Various contract proposals were discussed, with no agreement. This meeting lasted two and a half hours—a record.

March 15. The company made another offer, still not including points agreed to in the previous autumn. It contained a wage schedule but omitted shift differentials currently being paid. Keith said the company would pay the shift differentials for the present but would not write them into a contract. "Why don't you use the law and go through the courts?" he asked Dernoncourt.

March 18. Poole, the mill superintendent, said he wanted to discuss work loads. The union agreed. The entire two-hour session was devoted to machine assignments in the spinning-room.

March 22. Keith said the company would not discuss work loads any further. He submitted a "final proposal," not appreciably different from earlier ones; shift differentials were still left out. In response to a question from Dernoncourt, Keith said this last offer could not be modified in any way.

Since then the parties have not met. Federal conciliators admit that they have exhausted their resources.

WHAT can the workers do now? They can strike—and bring down upon themselves the weight of the police, the state courts, community opinion, and the economic power of the employer. Strikes are not to be lightly undertaken in the South; they are too often broken. The Sherman mill is owned by the huge Ely-Walker Dry Goods Company, which—as the T. W. U. A. has discovered—is perfectly willing to shut down a unit indefinitely to avoid a union contract. Even an unaffiliated mill has little trouble finding "friends" to take over its orders during a strike.

A second possibility for the union is to charge the employer with refusal to bargain. The National Labor Relations Board may hand down a decision in a year or so; five years may elapse before the case is fought through the Supreme Court.

The only glimmer of hope, under the present law, is found in recent Supreme Court decisions upholding the National Labor Relations Board—and the T. W. U. A.—in a number of similar cases, in which companies were found guilty of refusal to bargain in good faith. At this writing three hitherto obdurate Texas employers, yielding apparently to the findings of the Supreme Court, have resumed negotiations. Dernoncourt is hopeful of obtaining contracts with them all.

But he and other T. W. U. A. officials know that they cannot build a union if there is always a four- or five-year lapse between election and agreement. The South will be organized only when the Taft-Hartley act gives way to a statute closer to the Wagner act in word and spirit. Restoration of the Wagner act would, first of all, speed up Labor Board proceedings. There would be no interminable court reviews. Stalling by management would be recognized for what it is. And it would again be national labor policy to encourage collective bargaining rather than, as now, to preserve neutrality. This may seem an impalpable change, but experience under the two statutes proves its importance.

Another aid to organization would be the imposition of actual penalties against employers found guilty of violating the federal labor law. Even under the Taft-Hartley act unions win countless cases against recalcitrant employers, who are then required to restore individual victims to their jobs with back pay—less outside earnings—and to post a promise to sin no more. The fact that so many of them go right on sinning is clear evidence that the punishment is no deterrent.

When a union loses a strike or a Labor Board case, it loses its life blood—members. Substantial fines for employers who defy the law, particularly the repeaters, might partially equalize the risks. This is not a new idea, but maybe this is the time to try it.

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Yugoslavia Reappraised

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

II. Tito's World Mission

Belgrade, June

ON MAY 15 a public meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Yugoslav Parliament, which had been summoned with dramatic suddenness, was told that the war of nerves against Yugoslavia had started up again in all earnestness. In Rumania not far from the Yugoslav border Russian troops were laying pontoon bridges across the Danube and building new airfields. Russian tanks were rumbling through the streets of Sofia; Bulgarian troops on parade were carrying menacing anti-Yugoslav banners. Mr. Dedijer, the chairman of the committee, who announced all this, said it contrasted very oddly with what the Russian propagandist Ilya Ehrenburg had been saying and with the other peace talk being dished out to the West. The question now, he said, was would the West be lulled to sleep by the Ehrenburgs and allow itself to be persuaded that the Moscow-Belgrade quarrel was a family affair in which it must not interfere.

Although the Yugoslav leaders consider an invasion unlikely, they think Russia might attack if all other attempts to overthrow the Tito regime failed. For they believe, or want to believe, that in the long run they will be ideologically extremely dangerous to the men in the Kremlin. Minister of State Djilas, in his now famous election address to the students of Belgrade University—a school teacher in Serajevo described it to me as "one of the historic expressions of Marxism-Leninism"—said:

> For a long time the Soviet Union was hemmed in by capitalism, and what developed there was bureaucracy and centralism, and the state became "a force above society.". . . An administrative machine cannot take upon itself an ideological monopoly without destroying the very principles of Socialist democracy. . . . Nothing is more dangerous than to apply bureaucratic methods to the realm of human thought. . . . In Russia today we are witnessing the exploitation of other weaker Socialist countries, an un-Marxist idolatry of the Leader, greater differences in wages than exist in bourgeois democracies, the fomenting of Great Russian chauvinism, contemptuous treatment of the culture and history of other peoples, claims to monopolize the interpretation of Marxist ideology and to decide the tactics to be pursued by the working-class movement of the world, cynical use of slander and lies, disregard of the part played by the consciousness of the people in the struggle for a new society, prohibition of dissenting opinions, and the stifling of all intellectual initiative among the people.

Then he struck the "missionary" note:

> We are the Hegelian negation of world socialism's present position, and as such we are the yeast, the spark, that is needed for the future progress of socialism. Our Yugoslav revolution has become an event of international significance. . . . Only the undemocratic and dictatorial policy of the Soviet leaders and the ideological feebleness of their direction have prevented the class struggle from becoming the daily inspiration of the workers of the world.

He concluded:

> We are the pioneers in the task of strengthening and developing socialist democracy. . . . Our struggle against Soviet hegemony has shown other nations the way. Only later will history be able to judge the full significance of this bold and as yet unrecognized undertaking by a small and relatively undeveloped country.

Unquestionably the Yugoslav leaders are waging a relentless ideological war against Moscow—a powerful radio station is being built expressly to carry their ideas to the East. Djilas and others have formulated in Marxist terms exactly the same kind of revulsion against Soviet dogmatism—against the infallibility of Stalin and the party—as is felt by those Western critics, not otherwise hostile to the Soviet Union, who have protested against the party's tyranny over the human mind, whether in the realm of science, history, philosophy, art, literature, or anywhere else.

THE present ideological quarrel with Moscow marks a new stage in Soviet-Yugoslav relations. Until June, 1948, Yugoslav Communists too were guilty, as they readily admit, of a certain "idolization" of both Stalin and the Soviet Union. The Cominform resolution denouncing the Yugoslav leaders needed a lot of explaining to people who had been fed for years on pro-Soviet propaganda. There was an attempt first to differentiate between the Cominform and the Russian Communist Party, then to differentiate between wicked Zhdanov and wise Stalin. Next great store was laid on signs of "Titoism" and pro-Yugoslav sentiment in the Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian Communist parties. Yugoslav criticism of Russia was restrained until last autumn,

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ALEXANDER WERTH is one of The Nation's *European correspondents. In a third article, the last of this series, he will take up the question of how much intellectual freedom is allowed in Yugoslavia.*

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when two events brought about a change—the Rajk trial in Budapest and the September-October "war scare," caused by what seemed like a considerable concentration of Russian troops in Hungary and Rumania.

Whether they were genuinely scared or not, the Yugoslav leaders made the most of the threat, both at home and abroad. Tito's speeches during the Yugoslav army maneuvers in October strongly impressed the people, who had had quite enough of invasion and whose memories of the Soviet troops were not too happy. At the same time, having been elected by Western votes to the Security Council, Yugoslavia began to play an increasingly prominent part in the United Nations, especially in showing up the inconsistencies of both the "peace" policy and the Yugoslav policy of Vishinsky and Manuilsky. Manuilsky's phrase "that terrible country"—meaning Yugoslavia—had tremendous repercussions in Yugoslavia. It was exploited by the regime to show that the Soviet government was in a towering rage not only against the "Tito clique" but against the Yugoslav people for failing, or not even trying, to overthrow this clique.

I have talked to dozens of people of every kind, and not one has had a good word to say about Russia. Nor is this surprising. The Soviet and Cominform propaganda that is pumped into Yugoslavia over twenty-five wireless stations not only indulges in the crudest vilification of the regime, offensive even to people by no means pro-Tito, but is thoroughly insulting to the Yugoslav nation. It is mendacious to the point of being ridiculous, and it is also absurd in its deification of everything Russian. At the end of 1948 the Yugoslav government thought of jamming these broadcasts; now it is delighted that it did not. Nothing is discrediting the Cominform countries in the eyes of the Yugoslav people more than this propaganda.

Scarcely less important in creating widespread hostility to Russia is the persecution to which Yugoslavs are subjected in the Soviet Union and its satellites. Many have been murdered; still more have "disappeared." The constant insults heaped on members of Yugoslav embassies and legations have reached the stage, Kardelj said recently, where considerations of personal safety may compel the government to discontinue diplomatic relations with the Cominform countries. Of course, these countries would be well pleased to put the blame for the breach on Yugoslavia. Yugoslavs are further incensed by the Soviet refusal to let the Russian wives of Yugoslav citizens, including diplomats, join their husbands in Yugoslavia.

BUT what about the "world importance" of the Yugoslav ideas? Is the "yeast," the "spark," of which Djilas spoke still active? Or has Titoism as an international movement proved a failure? The Yugoslavs have no doubt that in most of the Eastern countries there was a movement of revolt against Russian conformism similar to theirs—they point to Gomulka in Poland, Rajk in Hungary, and Patrascanu in Rumania, and say there were thousands of others of whom the outside world was not allowed to hear—or that when Titoism was proclaimed a deadly heresy, this revolt was driven underground. One of the leading Yugoslav intellectuals, talking to me over a cup of Turkish coffee at his house in Dedinje, outside Belgrade, said:

> In the last resort it was the sheer inhumanity of the whole thing that we could not stomach. Few things are more tragic than the fate of the Czech working class, with their great socialist and democratic traditions. Or look at the Bulgarian Communists, people very like us, real revolutionaries, the bone and sinew of the Bulgarian people. What has happened in Bulgaria? Some thousand Bulgarian Communists who lived in Moscow for years and became typical Moscow bureaucrats have been put in all the key positions. Or take the Poles, like us a proud people. How do you think *they* like it?

My friend was confident that despite the terror against Titoites some very serious discussions were going on under cover in all Communist parties, including the Soviet party.

> Why do you think [he said] the Soviet Communist Party is still hesitating, after eleven years, to call a party congress? Is it not because Yugoslavia has created a formidable *crise de conscience* among the rank and file, and the Soviet bureaucrats are scared stiff that their brushing us off as a mere group of fascists and traitors will be found unconvincing? We are not trying to set up any "Belgrade International," but we know that our revolt against Soviet infallibility is bound to spread—if only because the Soviet ideas are not what people expect from socialism.

I asked my host what he thought of the Soviet argument that with Russia and the people's democracies threatened with war from the capitalist West, it was necessary for Russia to keep these countries closely welded together. He insisted that the tyranny exercised by the Russians in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere diminished rather than increased the inhabitants' loyalty to the Soviet Union. "Real alliances can only be voluntary, as Hitler learned from bitter experience," he said. Yugoslavia, he added, did not consider war inevitable and was therefore not prepared to surrender to the Russians all along the line and lose its independence "in advance," as it were. "What has happened in the people's democracies in the last two years," he said, "is what we foresaw in 1948, and our people would never have forgiven us if, through our surrender, they had today a Rokossovsky to keep them in order."

"All this may be as you say," I replied, "but how is it that Titoism has made no progress in the Western

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Communist parties, which are not held together by police terror? He admitted that in the main only the intellectuals had been affected. The rank and file, he said, with no direct experience of Soviet rule, still had a sentimental and idealized view of the Soviet Union. Oppressed under capitalism, they regarded Russia as a stronghold of social justice. It was associated in their mind with their own Resistance movements; and they were taken in by the Soviet peace campaign. But he believed they would see more clearly in time. "It may be years before we win the battle against Soviet 'revisionism,' but we shall triumph in the end. The Russian Communists themselves will be glad when we do."

In today's jittery world the Yugoslav leaders are refreshingly self-confident, or seem to be.

Beside the Point

WHEN we first read an Associated Press dispatch, in January, about paper-tearing birds in England we didn't pay much attention, though the account was, in its way, hair-raising. A long-named ornithologist, Lieutenant Colonel W. M. Logan Home, who was investigating the matter, said that he had had letters from 2,000 persons reporting the depredations of birds identified as blue tits. The little blue devils had swooped into houses and torn paper off the walls, mangled leather photograph frames, ripped clothes off lines, and pecked off the tops of milk bottles—they drank the milk.

Now comes the news, in another A. P. dispatch, that rooks, jackdaws, bullfinches, and magpies have joined the blue tits in the anti-paper campaign, and even as we write are making furious assaults on books, stray newspapers, bus tickets, pamphlets, and milk-bottle tops.

According to the British Trust for Ornithology, up to 1949 there were only eighty-seven reports of paper-tearing, with earliest observations going back to 1904, but the movement has grown prodigiously during the past year.

It is not clear, as yet, whether this is a left-wing or a right-wing uprising or what its ultimate aim may be. What is clear is that the blue tits are good organizers and have an effective propaganda line.

Experienced observers from the *New Statesman* and the London School of Economics are not surprised that the blue tits should have appealed, by their violent methods, to irresponsible elements like magpies, who enjoy destruction for its own sake; but the fact that they have also been able to enlist such respectable birds as bullfinches is worrying the authorities, especially since the Orme-Kysow-Dowton incident of May 13, which was also reported here by the A. P.

In the London suburb of Ealing that day a bird power-dived and snatched the spectacles off the nose of C. J. Orme; a moment later the same bird, presumably, pounced on William Kysow and seized *his* spectacles; and then it was revealed that, a few days before, Eric Dowton had been subjected to a similar attack, which had failed.

On this occasion the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and Owls—that's what the dispatch called it—got to work. An inspector set an owl trap and baited it with a pocket mirror. The culprit was caught and did in fact turn out to be a barn owl. The owl was pronounced mad, which is what people in Western democracies always say about such characters, but shrewd observers saw in the affair evidence that the blue tits have persuaded the wisest of birds to join their ranks. According to this view, the Ealing barn owl, in his fanatical zeal, was collecting spectacles for the use of a triumvirate of big-time owls who may be directing the movement and must stay up till all hours of the day reading the books, newspapers, and pamphlets captured by the cadres, or raiding parties.

As we indicated before, the ultimate aim of the movement is not clear. Our own theory is that the flying squadrons are out to eliminate paper work of all kinds and that the A. P. will shortly have big news for us—namely, that an overpowering army of birds has swooped into Whitehall and denuded the government offices of letters in triplicate, memoranda, records-going-back-to-1350, and reports—preliminary, interim, and final. After that anything may happen. A Kamikazi owl may even try to snatch the spectacles off Stafford Cripps.

Meanwhile there is a shred of evidence that the organization has agents in this country. (The first A. P. dispatch pointed out, ominously, that the blue tits are cousins to American chickadees.) The other day in Deal, New Jersey, Robert Bertelsen stopped short to avoid stepping on what looked like an innocent bird pecking at the ground. Mr. Bertelsen stumbled, lurched, and broke a plate-glass window of the service station he works for—it cost him nine dollars.

You can't tell us, alerted as we are by the Assiduous Press, that that bird didn't do it on purpose. He obviously wanted the glass broken so his gang could swoop in and tear up the waiting list for new cars, thereby throwing the community into turmoil and panic and possibly civil strife. It's an old revolutionary trick. The bird escaped, of course, and the Federal Bird Investigators (F. B. I.) have not yet been able to identify or locate the troublemaker.

From now on we're going to be very wary of birds in general. As for the pigeons that are always hanging around our office window, we'll watch them like a hawk. They are probably out to "get" the copy for this column.

(If they succeed, we'll at least know how to interpret, the next time we hear it, the hoot of an owl.) M. M.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Essays and Asides

NEW, NEWER, NEWEST

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

WHEN one sees a reference to "the new criticism" one knows now what is meant, but if its proponents expect it to last long they had better find another name. During the thirty years I have been writing for this weekly I have seen the rise and fall of at least five or six "new criticisms," and one of them, the Crocean, was even called just that.

When I first began to be aware of such things, the "historical" and the "impressionistic" were already old hat, but the Freudian, the Marxian, the I. A. Richardsonian, the Empsonian, and the Mythical have all come bringing new gospels within my time. One would think that by now art should have no secrets. We ought to know what it does, how you create it, and how to get the most out of it. At least we have been told all these things often enough. Indeed, each new gospel left one wondering just how we had managed to get along without it so long. For several thousand years, it appeared, we had been absorbing poetry, drama, and fiction without really understanding any of them.

Take, for example, the ever useful case of Shakespeare. When I was first introduced to the idea that his plays were proper subjects of profound study, the philological approach of Kittredge was already in slightly bad odor. Elizabethan society and above all "the Elizabethan world view" were beginning to come into their own. The question was: What did Shakespeare's contemporaries think about witchcraft, ghosts, the four humors, and the nature of kingship? The key to "Hamlet" was the Elizabethan conception of melancholy, its cause and effect, as expounded in medical treatises of the sixteenth century. "You cannot," I was told, "understand 'Hamlet' unless you understand what Shakespeare thought about this thing called 'melancholy'." Moreover, all the other critical methods which have come into fashion since then have had in common at least the fact that they also came down in the end to a "You cannot understand unless . . ." From Russia we were assured in an elaborate treatise that we cannot understand even Falstaff unless we understand him as a type of the decaying feudal nobility. And though the popularity of this particular conviction was never very widespread here, it is now a commonplace that you cannot understand any of the plays unless you are aware of the "pattern of imagery" which runs through each and of the ambiguities implicit in most of the crucial words.

So be it. "Hamlet" does reflect Elizabethan conceptions of the nature of melancholy; Falstaff was a member of a decayed caste; the pattern of animal metaphor does run through "King Lear"; Cleopatra's "I have immortal longings in me" is ambiguous. What then? Only, it would seem, the disturbing conviction that Shakespeare delighted for centuries spectators and readers who simply could not understand what he was about. His widest popularity was achieved in the eighteenth century, notoriously obtuse in dealing with aesthetic subtleties; and he was the favorite playwright of thousands who knew nothing about the technical aspects of "melancholy," were not aware that social castes had decayed, had never heard of patterns of imagery, and would have denied that there was even one type, let alone seven types, of desirable ambiguity. By what happy miracle were the works of the Bard preserved by the uncomprehending until this century became the first capable of understanding him?

Or is it just possible that even the true observations made by successive schools of "new critics" are not quite so important as they are commonly supposed; just possible that the most important virtues of Shakespeare are those which can be understood without any of the specialized knowledge or any of the specialized techniques which, so we are told, furnish indispensable keys? Is it possible that Dr. Johnson, who has been accused of missing just about everything which makes Shakespeare a great writer, was correct when he based his conviction of that greatness on the simple fact that Shakespeare's characters behave in a fashion recognizably human.

This therefore is the praise of Shakespeare, that his drama is the mirror of life; that he who has mazed his imagination in following the phantoms which other writers raise up before him may here be cured of his delirious ecstasies, by reading human sentiments in human language, by scenes from which a hermit may estimate the transactions of the world and a confessor predict the progress of the passions.

To say that is merely to say that Shakespeare was a realist in the richest sense of that term, and no doubt it is more fun for a critic to discover esoteric virtues. Perhaps it is more fun for the reader of criticism also; but is it really more important? Does the critic who makes the largest claims for such discoveries really concern himself with the greatest qualities of the greatest writers?

No commentator is, to be sure, obligated to deal only with the most important aspects of the most important writers. Minor authors become more interesting when they are considered curiously, and even the great reveal hidden aspects of their greatness. But one should at least know what one is doing and beware the assumption that a writer is important just in proportion as he provides opportunity for ingenious explanation. The primary purpose of art is delight, not—as some seem to suppose—the provision of material for critics to work upon; and a poem which requires too many conscious techniques for comprehending should be looked upon with suspicion, not as though the

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fact were obviously a point in its favor. The sweetest nuts are not necessarily those hardest to crack, and the best critic is not necessarily the one who most often sees something the very existence of which he is the first to suspect.

Like most of my contemporaries I find John Donne much more interesting than some two centuries thought him. But does the fact that an explicator who chooses a line at random from Donne is more likely to find something good to work upon than he would have been if he had chosen a line from Milton or Wordsworth really prove that Donne is a more important poet than either of the others? What is there to say about, for example, "Great men have been among us"? And is that line simply not poetry at all because some super-ingenuity would be required to find in it either an image or an ambiguity?

Viewed with American Alarm

CRISIS IN BRITAIN. Plans and Achievements of the Labour Government. By Robert Brady. University of California Press. $5.

THE leaven that lightens this big book is its author's agitation over the timidity of the British Labor government since 1945. Professor Brady is a planner of Burnham-like intensity whose book is strewn with contrasts between Labor's "bits and pieces" policies and "improvisations," on the one hand, and his own demonstrations of the urgent need for "a real plan" and "radical and far-reaching changes," on the other. He keys his discourse partly to the general desirability of "Third Force" socialism on the earth, but more pointedly to a world crisis that increases the stake of the United States in forwarding British recovery and growth. His exasperations and occasional suspicions keep breaking through a detailed, systematic account of the plans and achievements of the Labor government, whether more in sorrow than in anger it is often hard to say.

In effect, Mr. Brady started from Labor's 1945 election manifesto, "Let Us Face the Future." He spent the first eight months of 1948 in Great Britain finding out from the record and from individuals how its promises had borne fruit. He seems to have written his book largely during the next eight months or so, for he is able to make some reference to the Budget and the Economic Survey of the spring of 1949. That is, his study has been stretched to cover almost four of Labor's years in power, with thin spots or holes in the fabric where statistical or other evidence came to an end in 1947 or 1948. He divides his account into meaty monographic chapters on the national designs, debates, achievements, and linkages affecting the Bank of England, coal, electricity and gas, iron and steel, national transport, telecommunications, social insurance, health, town and country planning, agriculture and marketing, industrial location and development (one chapter each on national planning and on copartnership and monopoly), and commonwealth and colonies. The whole is supported by documentary and statistical appendices of varying value. It is a large achievement in terms of time and topics and is marked by an intrinsic, fair-minded authority that is surprisingly great and consistent considering the difficulties inherent in using recent, controversial, and uneven evidence.

In every one of his separate investigations Mr. Brady meets disappointment. These Britons simply will not be bold. Labor allows the Conservatives to emasculate planning, in whole and in part, until it is little more than fairer division of declining enterprises, that is, full employment in an economy which for the most part cannot compete adequately with production elsewhere. When Labor nationalizes, it hands over management to the old managers—he might have recalled the futile efforts of the Nazis to escape that near-necessity—in a suspiciously gentlemanly agreement to protect investors and job-holders, great and small, and the devil take the unrepresented consumer. "What has been substituted for private capitalism in this sphere is state capitalism, with the result that labor tends to find itself in a relationship with its new employer . . . much similar to that with which it had long been familiar." There is far too much "understanding" among the political and economic managers of Great Britain to suit Mr. Brady and far too little realization that the sum of ineffectiveness on all fronts is the crisis that he warns of in his first chapter and spells out in his last.

> Should it continue to remain complacent about domestic problems and to follow traditional patterns overseas, then, on the available evidence to date, Britain needs only a Gibbon to write her chronicle. The Labour Party alone is not to blame. . . . There may still be just barely enough time left for a last Herculean effort to turn the tide, but the sands in the hourglass are running exceedingly low.

While it is credible that Great Britain's destiny may be to fade out in economic decline or become "Airstrip One" in unending wars between the oceanic power and the land power of the earth, it seems improbable that either fate is as imminent as Mr. Brady would have it. After all, the late George Orwell called his book "1984." The very urgency of this volume and of a decade of American and Canadian efforts to bolster and revive British economy and morale is evidence of powerful outside interest in British survival that is unlikely to end abruptly.

Meanwhile Britons know that nationalization, of its mere self, is no magical means to arrest and reverse the failure of private enterprise or quickly to multiply production; indeed, in some cases it was little more than an expedient to secure goods and services that business men found it unprofitable to provide. Moreover, Britain's Colbert, Sir Stafford Cripps, has for five years been reiterating the forbidding facts of a unified national economy, an over-all neo-mercantilism, and he has taken that economy out of the red into the black. The productive apparatus has been gaining during 1949 at more than twice the rate Cripps considered likely. Even if that tempo is not fast enough to exalt "Third Force" socialism or decisively to increase Great Britain's power and prestige, it is probably better than might have been expected in the circumstances.

One of those circumstances needs more persistent weighting than it gets from Mr. Brady. It is that Britons, who have been more addicted to political instrumentalities than any other people on earth, also operate the most unrestricted democracy in existence. Almost all that they do as a single society is conditioned by the politically possible.

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A great deal of the inertia and disjointedness complained of here is about as obvious to Britons as to us from a managerial point of view, but the remedies depend largely on the citizen as voter. Furthermore, since the last election a new pact between the Labor Party and the Cooperative Union and systematic proposals in the *Political Quarterly* for the reform of public corporations indicate an intensified concern with the citizen as consumer. These domestic obsessions may or may not be brakes on rapid economic and social unification, but in the past only international crisis of a far more palpable sort than the present has been potent enough to persuade Britons to give them up.

J. B. BREBNER

The Life of a Hero

D. H. LAWRENCE. By Richard Aldington. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.75.

MR. ALDINGTON dislikes D. H. Lawrence and at the same time admires him very much. It is questionable whether this frame of mind is the best one for the writing of a biography or a critical study, especially when the dislike is much more intense than the admiration. For one thing, mixed feelings often lead to a confusion of perception.

Lawrence was doubtless a difficult person, and at times intolerable. Mr. Aldington, who knew Lawrence intimately for many years, makes this clear. But is it really relevant? Perhaps it is, since Lawrence did of necessity permit his private life, personal friendships, opinions, doctrines, and writings to overlap. Hence it is too easy to say: now that Lawrence is dead, it is only his work which is important. The readers of his work, who are not as numerous as they ought to be, do need as much knowledge of his life as they can get. For the more we know of his life, the better we understand his doctrines and his writing. But perhaps precisely for that reason what we need is a biography of Lawrence which helps us to understand his work without imposing the difficulties and the resentments compelled by intimate friendship. After all, we do not have to live with him on terms of a close relationship, and a judgment and record of his life based on such terms are necessarily limited. It has but one point of view; and the point of view is often too close.

To object to Mr. Aldington's point of view, however, is not to subscribe to the view that the behavior of a man of genius must be regarded as free of any judgment of right and wrong; nor yet to the assumption that the failings of a man of genius, however extreme, wasteful, vicious, and destructive, are somehow necessary and inseparable from the existence of his genius.

The first view, which is popular and prevalent, is foolish enough in any case; it is particularly silly so far as Lawrence is concerned because the intense center of Lawrence's life and his work was an anxious, passionate, and truly moral preoccupation with the right and wrong in human behavior. Both in his life and in his work Lawrence devoted himself —perhaps too much—to what is involved in the struggle to be a good human being. The fact that he protested too much about sex and the fact that the word goodness has been used so narrowly and abused so profoundly that Lawrence was led to confuse goodness with the blind and bigoted Protestant morality of his youth—these facts merely obscure the truth that Lawrence was obsessed with goodness and with a true morality. His work was an effort to enact and propagate a truly good life, and his failures in private life are important as trials and tests of his work. It should be clear, then, that one can hardly make any neat separation of his life and his work, and the whole truth about his life, or any fragments of the whole truth, is just as much a part of his work as his extraordinary letters. What is objectionable in Mr. Aldington's account is not that it is full of judgments but that the judgments are made from a trivial and shallow point of view. It is possible to make fun of anyone and anything, and it is possible to forgive everything or to accept everything with the famous blindness of love. Mr. Aldington alternately makes fun of Lawrence and forgives him, sometimes in successive paragraphs.

As for the assumption that the failings of a man of genius are somehow necessary and inseparable from the existence of his genius, that is also misleading; but it is more difficult to combat because it is more than a half-truth —it is, let us say, a three-quarter truth, since genius often makes profound use of much that is vicious and destructive. Sometimes the worst errors of genius lead to the best insights, as we can see in the examples of Dostoevski and Strindberg as well as Lawrence. And sometimes malice or hatred makes possible insights denied to the pure in heart and mind—witness the malice of Pope or the hatred of Swift. Nevertheless, however illuminating malice and hatred sometimes may be, they are not always so. And to recognize these complications in the functioning of genius is not to affirm the popular conclusion that genius is always of its very nature malicious and destructive.

These considerations are suggested by the inadequacy of Mr. Aldington's book. But his book is sufficiently full of facts —however dubious his attitude toward the facts and his interpretation of them —to be of considerable value to anyone interested in Lawrence.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

The Work of W. C. Williams

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS. By Vivienne Koch. New Directions. $2.

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS has never attracted the critical attention that is due a poet of his attainments and abilities. This is perhaps, in some part, Williams's own fault, for his attitude toward the critics has always been one of determined, sometimes eccentric disesteem, which could hardly be calculated to encourage their solicitude. Heretofore the most thorough examination of Williams's work has been Yvor Winters's, in "Primitivism and Decadence"; yet even there the study of Williams is principally a stratagem in the unfolding of Mr. Winters's more comprehensive program.

Nevertheless, we begin now to see signs of an increased interest in Williams's achievement. In addition to the work—the first book-length *exploitation* of his writings—that prompts this notice, Williams has lately awakened the public admiration of several younger poets, notably Randall Jarrell and Robert Lowell. The publication of his long poem "Paterson"—we now have three of the projected four parts—will surely evoke sustained critical interest, for we can already see that it is one of our most masterly works in its vein. It may

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be true, as Mr. Winters and many others contend, that this vein, which we may crudely categorize as modern Emersonianism, is not susceptible of controlled artistic development or felicitous moral application, but that argument is conducted above and beyond the poet's achievement. I myself find that I can read "Paterson" with more enthusiasm and enjoyment than I discover in any previous poem of the same tenor—and I am forgetting neither Whitman nor Hart Crane. In short, whatever else we may think about him, we must acknowledge that Williams is one of the very first men of letters in America.

Vivienne Koch's study, unfortunately, accords to Williams more flattery than justice. It is a march, often too deliberate, through Williams's writings from beginning to end—poetry, drama, fiction, translations, criticism. It distinguishes and relates Williams's various ideas, showing their development and extension to the integrated concept which governs "Paterson." But the fact is that of all the sorts of criticism, this is the sort that Williams needs least. He has always been at pains to make clear his own ideas; though his poems have seldom been didactic, in the formal sense of the word, they have often been essentially polemical. Williams has generally been at odds with the dominant, Eliotic strain in modern writing, and quite naturally he has, from time to time, responded to the need to assert his own beliefs in poetry and prose of unmistakable intent. A more valuable critique of Williams's work would attempt some of the knottier problems, such as his mysterious prosody and the exact nature of his extraordinary gift for language. On these matters Miss Koch has nothing of consequence to offer; in fact, she throws out what theories of significance have been advanced hitherto without substituting any of her own. This lack will be felt profoundly by those who have read at any length in Williams's poetry.

As a résumé of Williams's career so far, the book is capable and fairly thorough. It can best be read with the "Complete Collected Poems" at one's elbow, in which case it becomes a series of notes to the text such as any proficient editor might affix to elucidate the poem and tell something about its background. There are a serviceable bibliography, an index, and a very fine photograph of the poet.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Films

MANNY FARBER

"THE ASPHALT JUNGLE," directed by John Huston for M-G-M, describes the planning, organization, specialization, and cooperation surrounding a million-dollar jewel robbery. At best it is a trade-journal report of the illegal acquisition of jewels, its most absorbing stretch being the painstaking breakdown of a professional heist, recalling the engineering details of the tunnel-digging in Huston's Cuban picture or the mine operation in "Treasure of Sierra Madre." The present movie is just as inventive as its predecessors in its selection: a top-flight safecracker wears a magician's coat honeycombed with the tools of his trade—monstrous crowbar for prying open a manhole cover, three-eighth-inch mortar chisel for separating bricks, lapel-anchored cord for safely suspending the bottle of nitroglycerine (no jostling, as any student knows), extra bits for his electric drill. No other director projects so well the special Robinson Crusoe effect of man confronted by a job whose problems must be dealt with, point by point, with the combination of personal ingenuity and scientific know-how characterizing the man of action. Two exquisite cinematic moments: the safecracker, one hand already engaged, removing the cork from the nitro bottle with his teeth; the sharp clean thrust of the chisel as it slices through the wooden strut.

Throughout this footage Huston catches the mechanic's absorption with the sound and feel of the tools of his trade as they overcome steam tunnel, door locks, electric-eye burglar alarm, strongbox. It is appropriate that the robbers dramatically subordinate themselves to their instruments and the job at hand, move with the patient, deadpan éclat of a surgical team drilled by von Stroheim (Don't Run, Walk to the Nearest Exit).

Huston unfortunately betrays the documentary invention of the robbery by clumsy stratagems for making his gangsters something more than human. Borrowing "Battleground's" racy technique of divulging character by idiosyncratic tabs, actors are distinguished unto extinction: as in a masquerade, red, yellow, blue harlequin costumes urge contrast while withholding identity. The safecracker (Anthony Caruso) worries over a wife and kids; the hunchbacked driver (James Whitmore) loves cats; the mean-faced murderer (Sterling Hayden) jabbers nostalgically about the horses on his father's farm; the mastermind (Sam Jaffe) leers at young girls in the flesh or sprawled on calendars. These traits are so arbitrary and unilluminating that Huston's effort to show Criminal as Human Being deteriorates into humorless Damon Runyon. Like Runyon's gunsels, Huston's thugs terrorize shopkeepers by night, but morning returns them to their homes, gentle-faced and clean-shaven, again to defend the dispossessed (cats, etc.) from the citizenry who terrorize by day.

The citizenry of Huston's movies, like Robin Hood's opponents, are dreary, anemic souls who fail every crisis through constitutional deficit of the courage of which every gangster worth his salt has an abundance. When the hoodlum slowly bleeds to death through the last third of the movie as he tries to reach the old farm, Huston has the attending physician say admiringly, "Anyone else would be dead after bleeding that much!" Victims of leukemia have bled for years without comparable eulogy. It is really this laboring of the outcast's courage that raises a point which seems to turn Huston's blood to water; isn't it *fear* of the citizenry's ordinary responsibilities which provokes the criminal to crime and makes him unequal to the citizen unless he is fortified by gun and gang? By his evasion of the criminal's central cowardice, Huston is unable to countenance the possibility of every gentleman being a murderer at heart, preferring instead every murderer being a gentleman at heart.

The consequence of his evasion is an endless piling up of mawkish footnotes on how the gangster passes his time between jobs. The safecracker's apartment ($20,000 per caper?) is standard Italian-tenement décor: narrow hallway, beaten-up four-poster bed, harassed

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mother with her arms protectively outstretched toward her weeping child. With equal banality the hunchbacked driver, Whitmore, pitifully explains his deformity, "I didn't grow this, I was born with it," belying the whole previous impression of his being an eager, cheery, indomitable assassin. Sterling Hayden begins credibly enough as an unthinking, prideful brute, meeting every remark with uncomprehending surliness, yet twenty-four hours later he is so intoxicated by the mastermind's charm that he is willing to forgo his fee for the unsuccessful robbery, wishes Jaffe godspeed with the wistful comment, "That little squarehead, I can't figure him." It is Huston's talent to untype the familiar Hollywood character actor by blowing up a particular physical gesture, such as Hayden's curled lower lip, so that briefly the actor is more exciting than ever before, but as often as not this very highlighting proves the actor's undoing, since he himself can never equal the theatrical gesture provided him by Huston. Jean Hagen's stylized jerkiness as a debauched gangster's moll, while eye-catching for a few seconds, incapacitates her in terms of credibility for the maternalism asked of her at the end of the picture, when she tends the bleeding Hayden.

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With the end of the movie Huston's faults combine with M-G-M's postcard elegance in a scene almost unequaled in vulgarity: on the ripe green meadow of his father's farm Hayden breathes his last, while colts gently lick his face in bucolic farewell. The ending suggests that Huston may not have the simple underworld courage to withstand M-G-M's glossy impositions.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

RECENT orchestral recordings include a group of Haydn symphonies. The Haydn Society has issued two more early works, Nos. 38 (1769) and 39 (1770), played by the Vienna Symphony under Jonathan Sternberg (HSLP-1010)—the works uninteresting, the performance of No. 38 Mr. Sternberg's best, the performance of No. 39 pedestrian, the bass weak in the sound of the first, too heavy in the second. The society also has issued two of the Paris symphonies (1786), No. 82 ("Bear"), played by the same orchestra and conductor, and No. 85 ("Queen"), played by the better Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Erwin Baltzer (HSLP-1008)—the works good, but without the excitingly incandescent invention of the best late symphonies; the performances not good; the violins coarse in the recorded sound of No. 82, very sharp in No. 85.

RCA Victor has issued No. 54 ("Imperial"), played by Stokowski with a Victor orchestra. The second, third, and fourth movements are quite charming, and the minuet has some characteristically daring harmonic progressions. Stokowski's amplification of the scoring is done with surprising restraint and taste; and no less surprising is the unaffected simplicity of most of the performance —the only exception being the pianissimo monkey-business in the trio of the minuet movement. The recorded sound is excellent except for heavy bass and a hum on side 1.

The Haydn incandescence is to be heard in one of the greatest of the London group, No. 99, issued by London (LPS-171) in an excellent performance by A. Royalton Kisch with the London Symphony (including a not first-rate solo oboe). Except for weak bass and violins which are sometimes veiled and edged the recorded sound is very fine.

Mercury has issued (MG-10050) another of the greatest London symphonies, No. 104, most of it well played by the Bavarian Radio Orchestra under Alfons Dressel, but not well reproduced by the LP dubbing of the Telefunken recording: the bass is weak, the drums are obtrusively loud and heavy, the treble is harsh. On the reverse side is No. 82 again, poorly played by the same orchestra under Rosbaud, not well reproduced, and afflicted with surface defects.

Victor has issued Mozart's Symphonies K.425 ("Linz") and K.319, played by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony. The first movement of K.425 is rushed through too fast for many of its points to make their effect; the second is ponderously slow; the rest is just a playing of notes. On the other hand the grace of the fast movements of K.319 is well achieved—only the Andante moderato being again ponderously slow. The recorded sound of the minuet, on 78, is too loud, that of the finale too soft.

In the Koussevitzky-Boston Symphony performance of Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 the third-movement Allegro is much too fast—so that it is a wonder the orchestra manages to get through it without accident; and the concluding Minuetto is much too slow, to the point of stodginess. The first movement is well paced; the second-movement Adagio a mere playing of the notes.

Münch's first recording with the Boston Symphony offers a performance of Beethoven's Seventh—the first three movements well-paced, the last a little slow and ponderous and without the "brio" it should have, and even the earlier movements without momentum and intensity. The sound from the 78 rpm records is spacious but sometimes thick and heavy; violins are sharp; woodwinds are sometimes overpowered. In the sound from the LP record there is a little less space.

Arrau has recorded Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 3 with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy for Columbia. His playing is good in the first movement, inadequate in the sec

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ond, graceless in the last. The recorded sound of the orchestra is compressed and unlovely; there is also poor balance of orchestra and piano; and the second movement is reproduced at a lower volume-level than the others.

As for Bruno Walter's performance of Beethoven's Fifth, also issued by Columbia, the funereally slow tempos of the second and third movements make it something to ignore.

In the new Victor recording of Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto made by Heifetz with Beecham and the Royal Philharmonic, Heifetz plays the opening section and other lively passages of the first movement with insensitive speed, the slower passages with jauntily mannered phrasing and wailing upward slides; and he uses the second movement to show all the nuances of tone he can produce, the finale to show how fast he can play.

Mendelssohn's lovely "Italian" Symphony is played on a London record (LPS-120) with admirable clarity, relaxed grace, and refinement of sonority and execution by Mario Rossi with the Turin Symphony—the one defect in the beautiful performance being the excessively slow pace of the Andante con moto. The Koussevitzky-Boston Symphony performance is, therefore, still the one to acquire.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, Brander Matthews professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University and drama critic of *The Nation*, is the author of a critical biography of Thoreau and other books.

J. B. BREBNER, professor of history at Columbia University, is the author of "North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, the United States, and Britain" and other books.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ is the author of a number of books, including "In Dreams Begin Responsibilities" and "The World Is a Wedding." He is on the staff of *Partisan Review*.

HAYDEN CARRUTH, formerly editor of *Poetry* magazine, is now literary editor of *Measure*.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

No Religious Oppression in Israel

Dear Sirs: It is necessary to correct some of the inaccurate and misleading statements in Mr. Zukerman's letter in your last issue.

There are three congregations in Israel which describe themselves as Liberal synagogues. While these are closer to Conservative than to Reform Judaism, they are affiliated with the World Union for Progressive Judaism, the organ of world Reform Jewry. It is true that there are no Reform temples in Israel like those in the United States. But this does not mean that they are prohibited. It simply reflects the fact that the overwhelming majority of Jews in Israel came from countries where Reform Judaism is still unknown. Reform Judaism developed during the past one hundred years. While it originated in Germany, it never took root in most of the countries of Europe. Reform Jews have not settled in Israel, and Reform temples and practices cannot be built and established without congregants. The few congregations already in existence suffer no inconveniences or interference. The truth is that these congregations, having in all about 700 families, have not been able to build temples. Had they the funds, there would be nothing to prevent them, or any other denomination, from building as they pleased.

"Prayers in any language but Hebrew are forbidden," says Mr. Zukerman. This is untrue. Apart from the fact that Moslems pray in Arabic and Christians in Latin, French, English, and other languages, there are some synagogues in Israel where parts of services are in Ladino and Aramaic, and sermons have been preached in languages other than Hebrew, such as German. However, since traditional Hebrew prayers are rendered in Hebrew in all synagogues and Reform temples in all parts of the world, including the United States, they are naturally recited in Hebrew—the language of everyday life—in Israel. Mr. Zukerman reminds one of the American correspondent in Palestine in 1947 who could not understand why the children spoke Hebrew instead of English. But in any case, let it be emphasized that no prohibition forbids the use of any other language in the synagogue, and such has been the custom in Jewish ritual throughout the ages.

From Mr. Zukerman's statement that "there is no synagogue in Israel where men and women can pray together, as so many Liberal Jews do the world over," one is led to imagine a shocking discrimination. As in Orthodox synagogues everywhere, including the United States, men and women in Israel pray together in the same synagogue and at the same time. In accordance with ancient custom they sit separately (and this custom is not unknown in certain Christian churches). In some synagogues women sit in the balcony; in others they are separated from the men merely by an aisle. There would be nothing to prevent men and women from sitting together in a Reform temple, if such existed.

Mr. Zukerman's statement that Orthodox education is compulsory for all children in the immigrant camps, regardless of their parents' wishes, is untrue. Under the Knesset decision, it was agreed that in the camps inhabited by Yemenites, schooling would be religious, for it was the Yemenites who had complained about the secular character of education in the camps prior to that time. But in other camps children have their choice of religious or non-religious education. Orthodox religious education is not imposed upon children whose parents do not wish it.

There is no basis for Mr. Zukerman's statement that non-Jewish spouses are denied admission to Israel. This canard, printed by one news service, has been repudiated by the Israeli government. No immigration law in Israel requires anyone to wait for years. No one has had to wait. Among the refugee immigrants from Shanghai were a number of non-Jewish spouses.

Mr. Zukerman would have *The Nation's* readers believe that rabbis are endowed with "police power" to impose laws on a people which, in its "overwhelming majority," does not believe in them. Mr. Zukerman's statement would conjure up a picture of a mythical rabbinical police breaking into a non-conformist place of worship and handcuffing those who worship as they please, to be prosecuted under some imaginary statute. These phantoms have no more substance than Mr. Zukerman's fears. And these should vanish, since

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the dissenting "overwhelming majority" to which he refers is likely to have its way. Mr. Zukerman will not deny that Israel is a democratic country where people are free to vote as they please.

But the principal fact which Mr. Zukerman overlooks is that the existing laws which place matters of personal status, such as marriage and divorce, under the jurisdiction of the religious authorities in Israel—be they rabbis, kadis, priests, or ministers—were in effect under the League of Nations Mandate as far back as 1923. Whether and when they will be changed depends obviously on public opinion in Israel itself. The constitution will be developed gradually over the years, as it was in the United States and England.

Similarly, the conflict between Orthodox and Reform Judaism did not begin with the state of Israel. The position of Orthodoxy in Israel arises from the fact that the majority of religious Jews in Israel are Orthodox.

Israel's Declaration of Independence of May, 1948, guarantees freedom of religion, conscience, education, and culture. Paul Blanshard's article [Israel: Church and State, *The Nation* May 27] reported that non-Jewish religious minorities in Israel do enjoy freedom and equality. Israelis will testify that in matters of faith they are ruled by the dictates of their own conscience. And they are utterly bewildered by reports to the contrary.

No one would dare to suggest that Israel has achieved perfection. The country and its people have faults. There is conflict over religious observance. For some the country is far too secular; for others it is far too Orthodox. But for none is there oppression or discrimination. In the final analysis the people of Israel will worship their God in their own ways. Freedom of religion means that.

I. L. KENEN, Director of Information, Delegate of Israel to the United Nations

New York, July 7

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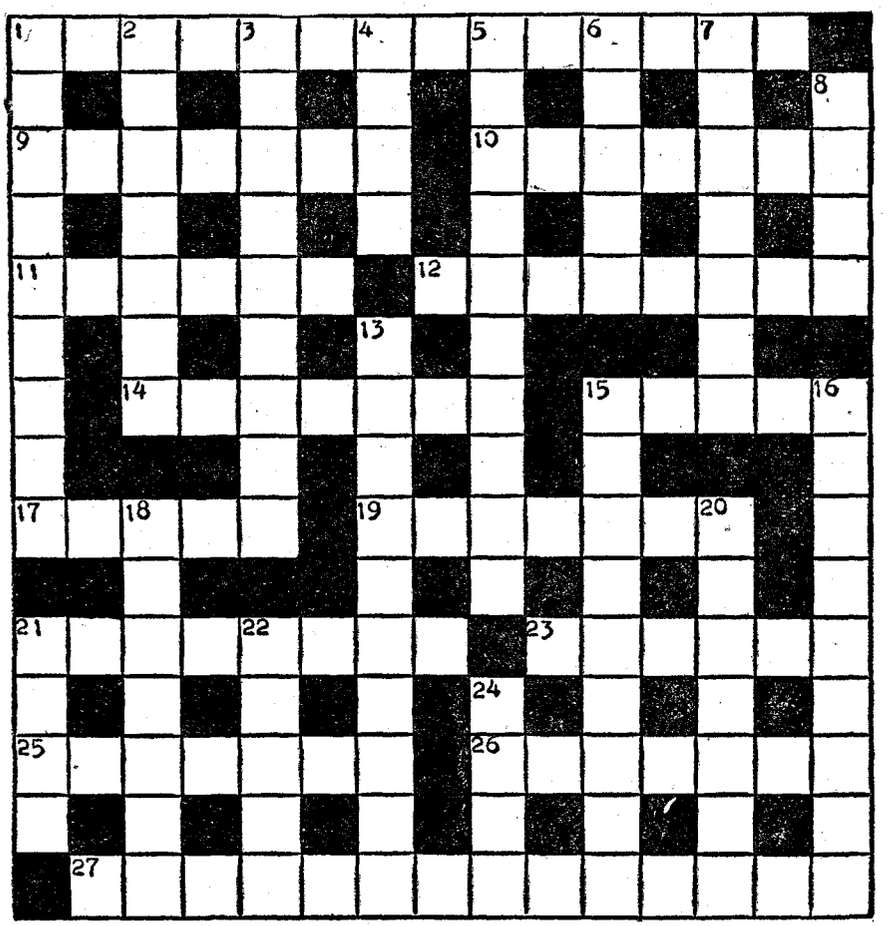
Crossword Puzzle No. 370

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 13. Implies there must be at least two ways to find skulduggery. (5, 4, 2, 3, 10)
9 Looks for division of duty on board. (7)
10 and 21 down. Controls and does fancy work with the bottle. (11)
11 Drug extracted from ripe cacao beans. (6)
12 Mrs. Dana's stories—there's more than one slant to their coverage. (8)
14 Fish and asparagus both might be. (7)
15 See 1 down.
17 A god in the theatre of war? Yet responsible for such lovely poetry! (5)
19 Hounds, hawks, and geraniums might be passed quickly. (7)
21 Drummers—eager for beaver? (8)
23 See 24.
25 Sinatra mingled with royalty. (7)
26 Material but not a reformed bishop of the Reformation. (7)
27 Gives testimony? (6, 8)

DOWN

1 and 15 across. What's in store for H. E.? A comforter, evidently. (4, 2, 3, 5)
2 Terriers who turn 27, perhaps. (7)
3 Sailors' cry for it! (2, 5, 2)
4 Changed so as to make a pile piled on. (4)
5 Is this the kind I thank for being relatively friendly. (4, 3, 3)
6 Two points under the muscles. (5)
7 Inarticulate sound with tympanum accompaniment. (7)
8 Mrs. Osiris. (4)
13 See 1 across.
15 Indeed the top is confused! (9)
16 These read like protective foliation. (5, 4)
18 The first man is obviously superior to the insect. (7)
20 Measure up to a man! (7)
21 See 10.
22 Direct attention to Jack, in the *Yeomen of the Guard.* (5)
24 and 23. Bulgarian property divided improperly in Old Mississippi, for example. (5, 5)

—✤—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 369

ACROSS:—1 SHIFTLESSNESS; 10 ANNAL; 11 INSOMNIAC; 12 VESTRYMAN; 13 STINT; 14 STATION WAGON; 19 KOUSSEVITZKY; 22 GILLS; 24 OVERRULED; 25 ANCHORAGE; 26 BIBLE; 27 INADVERTENTLY.

DOWN:—2 HONEST; 3 FILTRATES; 4 LEITMOTIV; 5 SUSAN; 6 NAMES; 7 SAILINGS; 8 LARVA; 9 ACETONE; 15 ON THE BEAT; 16 WAKE-ROBIN; 17 SKAGWAY; 18 PUBLICAN; 20 GLOBAL; 21 ADLER; 23 SCOLD; 24 OSAGE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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